Nàlandà

सं० ७
पु० ३ 2

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, INDIA

NĀLANDĀ

BY

A. GHOSH

FOURTH EDITION

सत्यमेव जयते

Published by the Director General of Archaeology in India,
New Delhi
1959

Price 75 Naye Paise

First Edition 1939 *Second Edition 1946*
Third Edition 1950

©

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

PRINTED AT THE JOB PRESS PRIVATE LIMITED,
KANPUR

CONTENTS

PAGE

1. General information 1
2. History 2
3. The remains 15
4. The environs of the site 31
5. The Archaeological Museum 33
    A. Sculptures 33
    B. Inscriptions 45
    C. Miscellaneous 50

Select bibliography 51

Index to Museum-objects 52

LIST OF PLATES

I. Temple Site 3
II. Monastery Sites 1 and 1A
III. A. Buddha in *abhaya-mudrā* (bronze)
  B. Vishṇu (bronze)
IV. Avalokiteśvara attended by Tārā and Bhṛikuṭī (stone)
V. Khasarpaṇa (stone)
VI. A. Padmapāṇi (stone)
  B. Padmapāṇi (bronze)
VII. Eighteen-armed goddess, probably Prajñāpāramitā preaching Law (bronze)
VIII. A. Nāgārjuna(?) (stone)
  B. Four-armed goddess (stone)
IX. Nālandā: the excavated remains

NĀLANDĀ

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

The ruins of the ancient Buddhist establishments of Nālandā lie close to the village of Bargaon, 55 miles south-east of Patna and 7 miles north of Rajgir, the ancient Rājagṛiha. They are situated at a distance of about 2 miles from the Nālandā station on the Bakhtiyarpur-Bihar Light Railway. They are also easily accessible by road from Patna, whence there is a regular bus-service to Rajgir *via* Nālandā.

The excavated remains are daily open to visitors from 9 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. The local Archaeological Museum, wherein are displayed the objects excavated at Nālandā and Rajgir, is open from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Admission to the remains and the Museum is governed by rules, which include the imposition of nominal fees. There are also rules, available with the local officers, for the taking of photographs. A large number of photographs are available for sale with the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi, and the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Mid-eastern Circle, Patna.

There is a rest-house at Nālandā, accommodation in which can be reserved by prior application to the Executive Engineer, P.W.D., Bihar-Sharif (District Patna).

2. HISTORY

Early references.—Nālandā[1] has a very ancient history going back to the days of Mahāvīra and Buddha in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. According to Jaina texts it was a suburb (*bāhiriyā*), situated to the north-west of the famous city of Rājagṛiha. Indeed, so important was the place that Mahāvīra spent as many as fourteen rainy seasons here. The Pāli Buddhist literature as well contains many references to Nālandā. It is said that in the course of his sojourns Buddha often visited the place, which is mentioned as prosperous, swelling, teeming with population and containing a mango-grove called Pāvārika. The distance from Rājagṛiha to Nālandā is given as a *yojana*.[2]

Another place near Rājagṛiha was Nāla, which is mentioned in the *Mahāsudassana-Jātaka* as the birth-place of the Elder Śāriputra, a chief disciple of Buddha. In other texts the same place, under the name of Nālaka or Nālakagrāma, appears as a centre of Śāriputra's activities.[3] But the *Mahāvastu*, a Sanskrit Buddhist text, gives Nālanda-grāmaka, half a *yojana* distant from Rājagṛiha, as the place of birth of Śāriputra and finds support in some Tibetan texts, including Tāranātha's history of Buddhism, a seventeenth-century Tibetan work.[4] It is therefore reasonable to hold that Nāla, Nālaka, Nālaka-grāma and Nālandā are all the variants of the same place-name.

---

[1] In ancient literature both the forms Nālanda and Nālandā occur indiscriminately.

[2] For references, see Hirananda Sastri in *Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, I (Lahore, 1930).

[3] See B.C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism* (London, 1932).

[4] F. A. Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, p. 65. See also N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (London, 1927), *s.v.* Nālandā.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME.—Hiuen Tsang, the renowned Chinese traveller of the seventh century, says that according to tradition the place owed its name to a *nāga* of the same name who resided in a local tank. But he thinks it more probable that Buddha, in one of his previous births as Bodhisattva, became a king with his capital at this place, and that his liberality won for him and his capital the name Nālanda or 'charity without intermission.'[1]

EARLY HISTORY BY TĀRANĀTHA.—According to Tāranātha, Aśoka, the great Mauryan emperor of the third century B.C., gave offerings to the *chaitya* of Śāriputra that existed at Nālandā and erected a temple here; Aśoka must therefore be regarded as the founder of the Nālandā-*vihāra*.[2] The same authority adds that Nāgārjuna, the famous Mahāyāna philosopher and alchemist of about the second century A.D., began his studies at Nālandā and later on became the high priest here. It is also added that Suvishṇu, a Brāhmaṇa contemporary of Nāgārjuna, built one hundred and eight temples at Nālandā to prevent the decline of both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools of Buddhism.[3] Tāranātha also connects Āryadeva, a philosopher of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism of the early fourth century, with Nālandā.[4] Further, Asaṅga, a Buddhist philosopher of the Yogāchāra school, belonging to the fifth century,[1] is said to have spent here twelve years of his later life and to have been succeeded by his still more famous brother, Vasubandhu, as the high priest of Nālandā.[2]

---

[1] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1906), II, p. 167. The derivation *na-alam-da* has been proposed, but it does not satisfactorily convey the sense that it is intended to.

[2] Schiefner, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 69 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

UNDER THE GUPTAS.—These statements of Tāranātha would lead one to believe that Nālandā was a famous centre of Buddhism already at the time of Nāgārjuna and continued to be so in the following centuries. But it may be emphasized that the excavations have not revealed anything which suggests the occupation of the site before the Guptas, the earliest datable finds being a (forged) copper-plate of Samudragupta and a coin of Kumāragupta. This is fully confirmed by the statement of Hiuen Tsang that 'a former king of the country named Śakrāditya selected by augury a lucky spot' and built here a monastery and that his successors, Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta, Bālāditya and Vajra built some monasteries near by.[3] As some of these names were borne by the Gupta emperors, it has been held that all of them refer to the Imperial Guptas of the fifth and sixth centuries.

The assumption that the monasteries of Nālandā were the creation of the Gupta emperors beginning with Kumāragupta I receives confirmation from the fact that Fâ-hien, the Chinese pilgrim of the early fifth century, does not mention the monastic establishments of Nālandā. He speaks of the village of Nālo, the place of birth and death of Śāriputra, and of a *stūpa* existing here.[1] As has been suggested above (p. 3), this place may be identical with Nālandā, but the absence of any other monument except a *stūpa* at the time of Fâ-hien is significant.

---

[1] Some scholars are in favour of a date earlier by a century.

[2] Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[3] For Hiuen Tsang's description of Nālandā, see Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 ff. His biographer Hwui Li adds some interesting details: S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang* (London, 1911), pp. 109 ff.

UNDER HARSHA.—Hiuen Tsang saw here an 80-ft. high copper image of Buddha raised by Pūrṇavarman, 'the last of the race of Aśoka-rāja,'[2] belonging to the early sixth century. And the illustrious Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606-647) no doubt greatly helped the institution by his munificence: he built a monastery of brass, which was under construction when Hiuen Tsang visited the place. The biographer of Hiuen Tsang says that Harsha remitted 'the revenues of about a hundred villages as an endowment of the convent and two hundred householders in these villages contributed the required amount of rice, butter and milk'. 'Hence', he adds, 'the students here, being so abundantly supplied, do not require to ask for the four requisites. This is the source of the perfection of their studies, to which they have arrived.' This statement makes it clear that the students did not have to beg for their daily food.

Harsha highly revered the Nālandā monks and called himself their servant.[3] About a thousand monks of Nālandā were present at the royal congregation at Kanauj. Royal patronage was, therefore, the keynote of the prosperity and efficiency of Nālandā. As Hiuen Tsang says, 'A long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till the whole is truly marvellous to behold.'[1]

---

[1] Legge, *Travels of Fâ-hien* (Oxford, 1886), p. 81.

[2] Beal, *Records*, II, p. 118.

[3] Beal, *Life*, p. 160.

Hiuen Tsang.—Hiuen Tsang also recounts a few of the monasteries and temples that he saw here, giving their directions in most cases. Thus, the monastery built by Buddhagupta was to the south of the one built by his father Śakrāditya; to the east of Buddhagupta's monastery was the one of Tathāgatagupta; the one built by Bālāditya was to the north-east of the last; while Vajra's monastery was to the west. After this an unnamed king of mid-India is said to have built a great monastery to the north and erected a high wall with one gate round these edifices. Hiuen Tsang also gives a long list of the other monasteries and *stūpas* that he found. Modern attempts to identify them with the existing ruins have met with scanty success, as the six centuries that separated Hiuen Tsang and the final desertion of the site must have produced many new buildings and modified the existing ones.

Hiuen Tsang was very warmly received at Nālandā and resided here for a long time. The courses of study, says Hiuen Tsang, included the scriptures of the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools, *hetu-vidyā* (logic), *śabda-vidyā* (grammar) and *chikitsā-vidyā* (medicine), as well as such purely Brāhmaṇical texts as the Vedas including the *Atharva-veda*. From the accounts of the pilgrim it is clear that Nālandā was bustling with literary activities:

> 'The priests to the number of several thousands are men of the highest ability and talent. Their distinction is very great at the present time, and there are many hundreds whose fame has rapidly spread through distant regions. Their conduct is pure

---

[1] Beal, *Life*, p. 177.

> and unblamable. They follow in sincerity the precepts of the moral law. The rules of the convent are severe, and all the priests are bound to observe them. The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripiṭaka* are little esteemed and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and then the streams (of their wisdom) spread far and wide. For this reason some persons usurp the name (of Nālandā students), and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence. If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions, the keeper of the gate proposes some hard questions; many are unable to answer, and retire. One must have studied deeply both old and new (books) before getting admission. Those students, therefore, who come here as strangers, have to show their ability by hard discussion; those who fail compared with those who succeed are seven or eight to ten.'

Hiuen Tsang received here the Indian name Mokshadeva and was remembered by the inmates of the Nālandā monastery long after he had left the place. Several years after his return to China, Prajñadeva, a monk of Nālandā, sent him a pair of clothes, saying that the worshippers every day went on offering to Hiuen Tsang their bows and salutations.

Nālandā had by now acquired a celebrity spread all over the east as a centre of Buddhist theology and educational activities. This is evident from the fact that within a short period of thirty years following Hiuen Tsang's departure, no less than eleven Chinese and Korean travellers are known to have visited Nālandā.[1]

I-TSING.—Next in importance to Hiuen Tsang stands I-tsing, who reached India in 673 and studied at Nālandā for a considerable time. His work records very minute details about the life led by the Nālandā monks, which he regarded as the ideal to be followed by the Buddhists all over the world. He says that the number of monks of the Nālandā monastery exceeded three thousand in number, maintained by more than two hundred villages bestowed by previous kings.[2] He also gives details of the curriculum, which, besides the Buddhist scriptures, included logic, metaphysics and a very extensive study of Sanskrit grammar.[3] He further testifies to the strict rules of discipline that the monks observed, their daily life being regulated by a water-clock.[4]

---

[1] For a list, see Beal, *Life*, pp. xxviii ff.

[2] J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 65 and 154.

[3] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 ff. It appears from his account that all the existing grammatical texts of the Pāṇinian school, including the *Ashṭādhyāyī* itself, were taught to the students. It is strange that in spite of this the Buddhist texts in Sanskrit should have been written in incorrect language.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

UNDER THE PĀLAS.—The Pāla emperors held east India from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D. and were noted for their patronage of Mahāyāna Buddhism. At the same time they established other monasteries at Vikramaśīlā, Somapura, Odantapurī and Jāgaddala,[1] which must have created a division in the activities of Buddhist scholars. It is even stated by Tāranātha that the head of the Vikramaśīlā monastery had control over Nālandā.[2] Still, there are ample epigraphic and literary evidences to show that the Pālas continued to be liberal in their munificence to Nālandā.

RENOWNED SCHOLARS.—Mention may here be made of some famous scholars who, by their deep learning and excellence in conduct, created and maintained the dignity which Nālandā enjoyed. It has been already stated above that the early Mahāyāna philosophers, Nāgārjuna, Aryadeva, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, were all, according to Tāranātha, the high priests (*paṇḍita*) of Nālandā. Next in point of chronology comes Diṅnāga, the founder of the medieval school of logic; he was a southerner who was invited to Nālandā to defeat in disputation a Brāhmaṇist scholar and received the title *tarka-puṅgava.*[1] The next famous *paṇḍita* was Dharmapāla, who had retired just before Hiuen Tsang arrived. At the time of the pilgrim the head of the monastery was Śīlabhadra, under whom the pilgrim studied and whose scholarship and personal qualities he describes eloquently. Śīlabhadra was probably succeeded by Dharmakīrti, who is credited by Tāranātha to have defeated a Brāhmaṇical philosopher, Kumāralīla.[2]

---

[1] Vikramaśīlā was founded by Dharmapāla (Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 217) and is generally identified with Patharghata in Bhagalpur District, Bihar. The Somapura monastery was, according to Tāranātha (*ibid.*, p. 209), founded by Dharmapāla's successor Devapāla and has been identified with Paharpur in Rajshahi District, East Bengal. According to inscriptions found there the monastery was named after Dharmapāla. Odantapurī or Uddaṇḍapura was erected near Nālandā by either Gopāla or Devapāla, *ibid.*, pp. 204 and 206, and may be identified with modern Bihar in Patna District. Jāgaddala was founded by Rāmapāla, one of the last kings of the dynasty, somewhere in north Bengal.

[2] Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

The next important figure was Śāntarakshita, who was invited by King Khri-sron-deu-tsan to Tibet, where he lived for many years till his death in 762. About the same time Tibet was also visited by Padmasambhava, who acquired great fame as the founder of the institution of Lamaism in Tibet. It was no mean honour for Nālandā that one of its scholars gave to the Tibetan religion a form that is continuing to the present day.

Thus, Nālandā succeeded in attracting the best Buddhist scholars whose fame spread to distant countries and persisted through ages. Rightly has it been said that 'a detailed history of Nālandā would be a history of Mahāyānist Buddhism.'[3]

EPIGRAPHIC AND LITERARY REFERENCES.—The following epigraphic and literary evidences help in the reconstruction of the history of Nālandā:—

(1) Inscription on an image found at Shahpur (near Bihar-Sharif) of the Harsha year 66 (A.D. 672-73),

---

[1] Schiefner, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.

[2] The identification with the famous Brāhmaṇa *mīmāṃsaka* Kumārila is at once suggested but does not seem to be very likely, as Kumārila probably lived somewhat later.

[3] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IX (Edinburgh, 1917), *s.v.* Nālandā.

belonging to the reign of Ādityasena and recording the erection of the image at Nālandā *mahāgrahāra*.[1]

(2) Copper-plate of Devapāla (*circa* 810-850) issued from Mudgagiri (Monghyr). It records that being requested by the Mahārāja Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) through a messenger, Devapāla granted five villages in the district of Rājagṛiha in the Śrīnagara (Patna) division for the upkeep and maintenance of monks and copying of manuscripts in the monastery built by the Sumatran king, on the twentyfirst day of Kārttika in the thirtyninth regnal year. It was found in Monastery Site 1 and is now in the Indian Museum.[2]

(3) Inscription on a Tārā image found at Hilsa (Patna District) of the thirtyfifth year of Devapāla. It mentions Mañjuśrīdeva, a monk of Nālandā.[3]

(4) Inscription found at Ghosrawan (Patna District) belonging to the reign of Devapāla and recording the activities of a monk named Vīradeva, who was appointed by Devapāla to look after Nālandā.[4]

(5) Pillar-inscription in a Jaina temple in the Bargaon village (Nālandā) of the twentyfourth year of Rājyapāla (*circa* 908-35).[5]

(6) Vāgīśvarī image-inscription found at Nālandā by Cunningham in 1862. It records the erection of the image in the first year of Gopāla II (accession *circa* 935).[6]

---

[1] J. F. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (Calcutta, 1888), p. 208. The image is now lost. It is probable that the word was *mahāvihāra*.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII (1923-24), pp. 310 ff.

[3] *Jour. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc.*, X (1924), pp. 31 ff.

[4] A. K. Maitra, *Gauḍalekhamālā* (Rajshahi, 1913), pp. 45 ff.

[5] *Indian Antiquary*, XLVII (1918), pp. 110 ff.

[6] Maitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.

(7) Nepal manuscript of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* copied at Nālandā in the sixth year of Mahīpāla I (*circa* 988-1038).[1]

(8) Nālandā stone inscription, found in 1863, of the eleventh year of Mahīpāla I. It refers to the destruction of Nālandā by fire and its subsequent restoration.[2]

(9) Bodleian Library manuscript of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* copied at Nālandā in the reign of Rāmapāla (1077-1120).[3]

(10) The Royal Asiatic Society manuscript of the same text, copied in the reign of Govindapāla in the latter half of the twelfth century.[4]

End of Nālandā.—It is impossible to give a separate account of the end of Nālandā: it only forms a chapter of the history of the disappearance of Buddhism from India.

It is evident from the account of Hiuen Tsang that Buddhism was slowly decaying when he visited India. Important centres of early Buddhism were deserted, though some new centres, such as Nālandā in the east, Valabhī in the west and Kāñchī in the south, had sprung up. After some time Buddhism lost its hold in other provinces and flourished only in Bihar and Bengal, where royal patronage succeeded in keeping alive a dying cause. But it is clear that Buddhism was no longer popular and centred round a few monasteries. The Buddhism that was practised at these places was no longer of the simple Hīnayāna type, nor even had much in common with the Mahāyāna of the earlier days, but was strongly imbued with ideas of Tantricism, inculcating belief in the efficacy of charms and spells and involving secret practices and rituals.

---

[1] *Proc. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1899, pp. 69 ff.

[2] Maitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.

[3] *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, II (Oxford, 1905), p. 250.

[4] *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, N. S., 1876, p. 3.

The crusade of the Brāhmaṇical philosophers and preachers such as Kumārila and Śaṅkarāchārya in the eighth century must have been another potent factor in rendering Buddhism unpopular. They are reported to have travelled all over India, defeating the Buddhists in arguments and compelling them to submission. The final blow was delivered by the Muslim invaders, who, according to their own accounts, drove away the monks and destroyed their cloisters. Cut off from and divorced of the support of a laity which had been its greatest strength in early days, Buddhism disappeared from India with this onslaught.

The Muslim historian Minhāj describes how Muḥammad Bakhtiyār K͟hiljī fell upon and destroyed a city in western Bihar, which they called Bihār (Sanskrit *vihāra*) and which was found to be a place of study.[1] It is not unlikely that Nālandā is being referred to here. Tāranātha says that 'the Turks conquered the whole of Magadha and destroyed many monasteries; at Nālandā they did much damage and the monks fled abroad.[2]

Another Tibetan text, the *Pag-sam jon-Zang*, however, adds that after the raid of the Turks the temples and *chaityas* were repaired by a sage, Muditabhadra. 'Soon after this, Kukuṭasiddha, minister of the king of Magadha, erected a temple at Nālandā, and while a religious sermon was being delivered there, two very indignant Tīrthika (Brāhmaṇical) mendicants appeared. Some naughty young novice-monks in disdain threw washing water on them. This made them very angry. After propitiating the sun for twelve years, they performed a *yajña*, fire-sacrifice, and threw living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temples, etc. This produced a great conflagration which consumed Ratnodadhi,'[1] one of the libraries of Nālandā.

---

[1] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, tr. H. G. Raverty (Calcutta, 1881), p. 552

[2] Schiefner, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

The first European account of the village Bargaon containing the ruins of Nālandā was given by Buchanon-Hamilton, who visited the place in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and found here some Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist images.[2] But it was only in the sixties of that century that Alexander Cunningham identified the place with the ancient Nālandā on the basis of the distances and directions given by the Chinese pilgrims and of some image-inscriptions that he found here. In his report he gives a thorough description of the ruins as he found them and of the antiquities that he collected. He also tried to identify the temples and monasteries mentioned by Hiuen Tsang with the existing ruins. In fact, it was he who drew the attention of the archaeological world to the importance of this site.[3] After a few years A. M. Broadley carried out some unsystematic excavations in Chaitya Site 12 and published a monograph on the place.[4]

For about twenty years beginning with 1915-16, the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, excavated the site. The activities of the Department in the direction of excavation, preservation of the remains from further ruin and collection of antiquities have resulted in making Nālandā a place which no archaeological pilgrim should leave unseen.

---

[1] S. C. Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 516.

[2] Martin, *Eastern India*, I (London, 1838), pp. 94 ff.

[3] *Archaeological Survey of India*, I (Simla, 1871), pp. 28 ff.

[4] *Ruins of the Nālandā Monasteries at Burgaon* (Calcutta, 1872).

3. THE REMAINS

The approach-road to the excavated site leads through an old passage between the side-walls of Monastery Site 1 on the left and Monastery Sites 4 and 5 on the right. On entering through the eastern gate of this passage, the visitor will proceed westward till he finds the open space between the row of temples on the west and that of the monasteries on the east. Since the Main Temple standing at the southern extremity of the row of temples is at once the largest and most imposing structure, we shall begin our description with this monument.

Main Temple Site 3.—This temple (pl. I) is a huge solid structure standing in the middle of a court surrounded by a number of small votive *stūpas*, many of which were twice or even three times built one over the other on the same spot. In the course of excavations it was found that the very small original structure was enlarged by later temples built over and around the ruins of the earlier ones, the present mound being the result of seven successive accumulations. The first three of these structures were found buried deep in the interior of the mound. They were all under 12 ft. square; and owing to the shattered condition of the later remains over them, it was found necessary to cover them up again. The four later integuments which can be examined on the spot were much more extensive structures. The three different staircases that can be seen to the north belong to the fifth, sixth and seventh periods respectively, the last two originally covering up the earlier one. The fifth of these successively built temples is the most interesting and the best preserved. It had four corner-towers, of which three have been exposed, and was decorated with rows of niches containing well-modelled stucco figures of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas on these towers as well as on the sides of the staircase. The votive *stūpas* sometimes contain in their core bricks inscribed with sacred Buddhist texts. The inscriptions belong to the sixth century A.D., so that it is possible to ascribe the fifth temple to that period. The same period is indicated by the stucco figures, which are fine specimens of Gupta art. Considering the huge accumulations over which the fifth temple was built, it seems that the foundation of the original structure must have been laid at least two centuries earlier.

All the later additions followed the square plan of the original structure and in each case a square framework of encasing walls was built on each side with a view to giving suitable support to the additional brickwork to be erected, the casing being filled up with earth and débris to form a solid core for the enlarged structure. As the structure increased in size with each addition, the level of the court gradually rose, and many small votive *stūpas* are found at several places completely or partially buried under the different floors and walls that have been exposed.

The shrine-chamber on the top, facing north, can be approached by the staircase of the sixth period. It presumably contained a colossal image of Buddha, as the pedestal therein would indicate.

MONASTERY SITES 1A AND 1B.—To the east of the Main Temple and on a higher level are the remains of two monasteries (pl. II), having their entrances to the north and facing a brick-paved court, the level of which almost coincides with the concrete pavement seen in front of the staircase of the fifth level of the Main Temple. The buildings are provided on all the four sides with small cells each having an entrance facing the concrete-paved verandah, the roof of which was supported by pillars, as can be guessed from the stone column-bases provided at regular intervals on the verandah-parapet which encloses the brick-paved court in the middle of the buildings. The shrine-chamber of each of the monasteries is situated in the middle of the south row of cells, facing the entrance gate. A flight of concrete-paved steps at the north-east corner of the building suggests the previous existence of an upper storey for each of the monasteries. In Monastery Site 1B there is an octagonal well at the north-west corner of the brick-paved court, while traces of a raised platform or pulpit built against the parapet-wall can be seen at the south end of this court.

A pit sunk on one side of the court of each of the monasteries revealed the existence of an earlier court a few feet below the upper one, indicating that these two monasteries were built directly over the ruins of earlier buildings on the same spot.

MONASTERY SITE 1.—We now come to Monastery Site 1, the most important of the monastery-group, lying to the north-east of Site 1A (pl. II). Here there are as many as nine levels, each of which is indicated by concrete pavements and superimposed walls and drains.

The main entrance lies in the west wall through a large portico, of which the roof rested on pillars, the stone bases of the latter being still *in situ.* At a later period this portico was converted into a porch with an antechamber by the addition of two walls, which narrowed down the entrance to 6 ft. Flanking this door there existed stucco figures which, having been badly damaged by fire in ancient days, fell to pieces as soon as they were exposed. Effects of this fire are still visible on the western walls. Stucco figures also existed in the large niches in the north and south walls of the portico. One of these niches is now filled up, while the other shows the lower part of an image, which, it will be seen, also bears marks of damage by fire.

The lower monastery, of which the cells are seen near the entrance on the western and along the southern and eastern sides, is believed to have been constructed in the reign of Devapāla, the third king of the Pāla dynasty (*circa* 810-50), by a king of Sumatra, as is stated in a copper-plate inscription found in the north-west corner of the entrance.

The monastery consists, as usual, of a number of monks' cells with wide verandahs in front, originally set round an open quadrangular court, but later on separated from it by a high wall. It was originally a building of two, or probably more, storeys, as is apparent from the existence of stairs in the south-east corner. Many of the cells have been excavated and have revealed the existence of a still earlier monastery underneath, as indicated by concrete pavements. A rough structure over the fine brickwork of the lower cell belongs to a later period, when the foundations were built over the remains of the ruined earlier walls below. These upper walls, it will be seen, project beyond the lower ones at places, but the projection is not uniform. The explanation is that at the time of the construction of the later monastery the whole space forming the earlier verandah was filled with the fallen débris of the upper storeys of the earlier monastery, and therefore it made no difference whether the foundation of the new walls rested on the remains of the old walls or on the hard surface of the hard débris. The concrete lintels and beams supporting the projecting portions of the later structure above the lower rows of cells have all been inserted in order to preserve and exhibit the remains exactly as they were found.

The main shrine of the lower monastery is situated in the middle of the east side and originally contained a colossal figure of seated Buddha, of which indications of the crossed legs and drapery still exist. As has been said above, the high wall standing all round on the parapet between the courtyard and the verandah is a later addition, so that the devout worshipper could see the image from the courtyard and the entrance of the monastery.

The platform with a number of stone column-bases in front of the shrine on the other side of the later high wall might have been used by the teacher to address students seated in the courtyard. The solid oblong shrine in the middle of the courtyard is a later structure which is now supported for the lower 7 ft. or so by modern brickwork. The slightly tilted stairs show the height to which the level had risen when the *chaitya* was constructed. The small square chapel to the south-west of the shrine is, on the other hand, an earlier structure and the carving with scroll-work and dwarfed flying figures on the stone, originally belonging to some other temple, may be ascribed to the Gupta period.

Between the floors of the cells of the lower and upper monastery there is a difference of nearly 14 ft. The central court was cleared by the later builders to obtain access to the old well in the north-west corner, and a wide staircase was built against the later high wall mentioned above to lead down to the well. At the same time two adjacent rooms were constructed against the high northern wall. These chambers have corbelled entrances facing south and vaulted roofs. The purpose of the rooms is not apparent, as nothing was found inside them. The front verandah, however, yielded several sculptured fragments of some interest, which include a remarkable plaque of fine-grained stone representing the eight principal events in the life of Buddha.

Later, when the upper monastery also fell into ruins, the level of the courtyard rose to within a couple of feet of the verandah and the cell-floors of the latest monastery to be erected on the site; and the whole of the courtyard was concreted. Three successive layers of this concrete have been uncovered and preserved in the south-west corner of the court.

The cells of the upper-level monastery are built with recesses to contain beds for the monks, a feature which is absent in the earlier monasteries. Indications of the drains constructed one upon the other in different periods may be seen at the north-east corner of the monastery.

At the western corner of the northern verandah of the monastery was found a damaged copper-plate inscription of Dharmapāla (*circa* 770-810), the predecessor of Devapāla, and close to it another one, probably spurious, of Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty (*circa* 335-75). The broad flight of stairs with concrete-paved steps, seen outside the monastery at its western front, led to the highest level of the monastery and therefore belongs to the latest period.

MONASTERY SITE 4.—Monastery Site 4 lies to the north of Monastery Site 1 and is adjacent to it. Its northern half was excavated right down to the lowest level of occupation and an earlier monastery was thus brought to light. That the upper monastery did not form the first floor of the lower monastery is evident from the existence of the main shrine in the centre of the eastern row of cells, situated exactly upon the earlier shrine, from the existence of a drain in the north-east corner of the upper court, carrying the sewage through the verandah parapet and right through the front and back walls of a cell in the upper monastery, and from the well to be seen in the courtyard of the upper level.

The platform in front of the shrine in the east (upper monastery) apparently supported a portico. The stones placed at regular intervals on the parapets of the verandah served as the bases of pillars supporting the original verandah-roof.

That the lower monastery too was double-storeyed is certain from the fact that in the south-west corner we find a staircase on which a flight of stairs of the later period was superimposed. An interesting architectural feature here is the remnant of an old skylight above the lower landing of the earlier stairs.

Near the north end of the eastern verandah of the lower monastery was found a coin of Kumāragupta (*circa* 413-55) of the archer type, which is one of the earliest finds recovered at Nālandā. Traces of the destruction of the lower monastery by fire exist in the burnt wooden door-frames and mud-mortar on the face of the walls.

Monastery Annexe Site 5.—Through a cell in the south-east corner of the upper monastery in Site 4 we descend by a large staircase built on the south verandah to an earlier monastery (Site 5), of which a few cells on the northern and southern sides and all the cells on the eastern side have been exposed and conserved. A feature of this monastery is that there are two rows of cells, one behind the other, the cells in the front row communicating with each other through corbelled doorways. The cells of the back row, it will be observed, have no entrance. Probably such entrances as had existed at first were blocked up later on, though it must be admitted that no such traces are visible now.

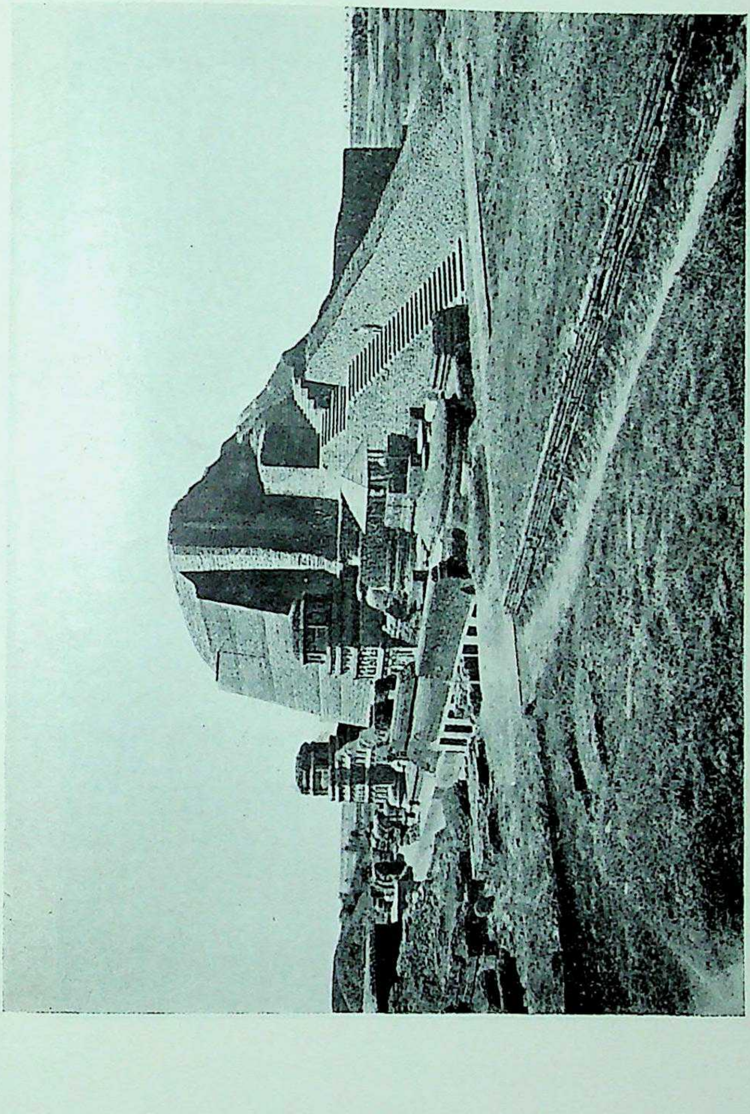
From this area a clay mould of Gupta coins was discovered.

MONASTERY SITE 6.—The visitor may now return to the open space in front of the row of monasteries and proceed northward till Monastery Site 6 is reached. This monastery, it will be observed, contains two brick-paved courts, the lower one belonging to the earlier monastery which had existed on the site before the upper one was built on its ruins. A feature of interest here is the two sets of double ovens in the upper courtyard which the monks might have used for cooking or for some practical demonstration to students. The ovens had no drains, the two that may now be seen having been provided for their proper preservation.

This monastery, like the ones already seen, contained in the courtyard its own well, belonging to both the periods of its occupation. A staircase to be seen in the south-west corner shows that the building was at least double-storeyed. There are two shrines in the lower courtyard and one in the upper.

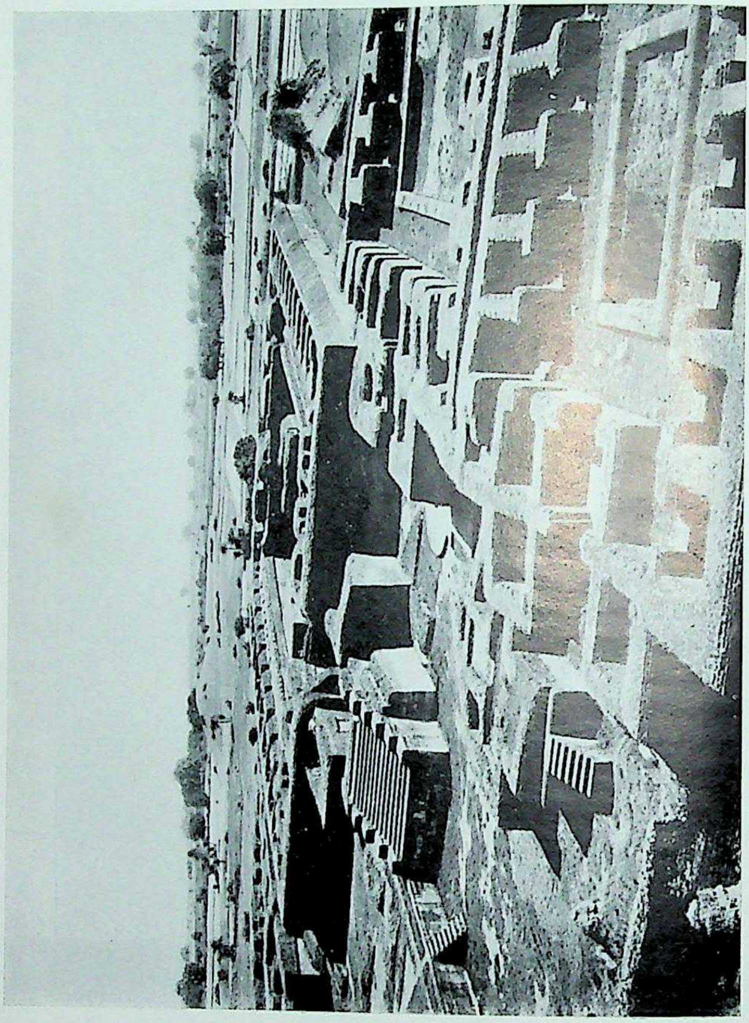
MONASTERY SITE 7.—Separated from Monastery Site 6 by a passage is Monastery Site 7. Here three successive monasteries were built on the same site, each upon the ruins of a previous one on a similar plan. The site has been so excavated as to indicate very clearly the three periods of occupation, the court, verandah and the cells of the three successive periods

PLATE I



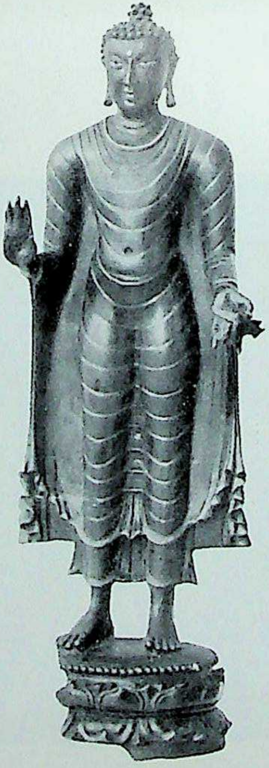
Temple Site 3

PLATE II

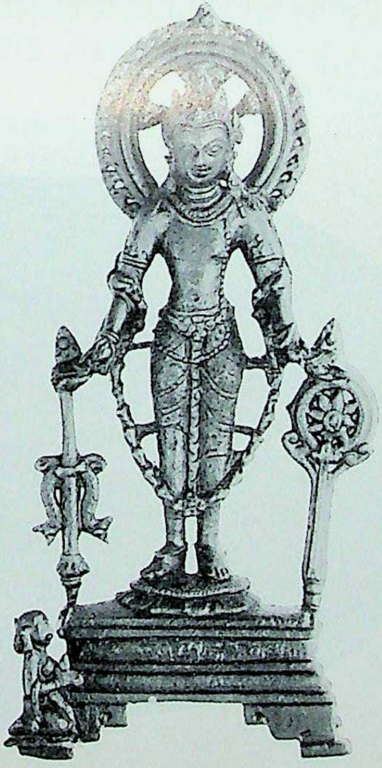


Monastery Sites 1 and 1A

PLATE III

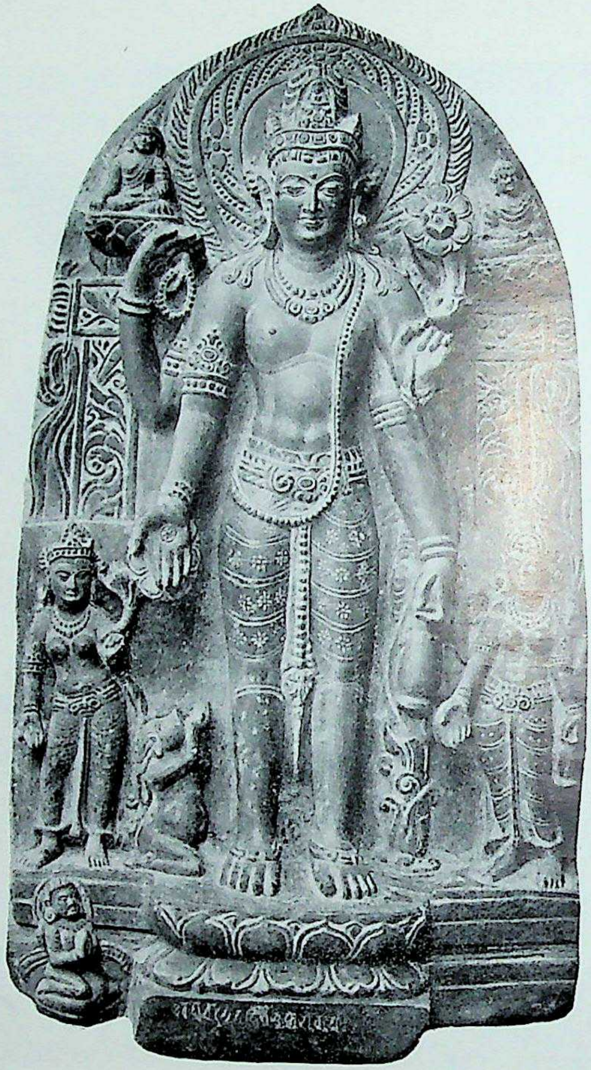


A. *Buddha in abhaya-mudrā (bronze)*



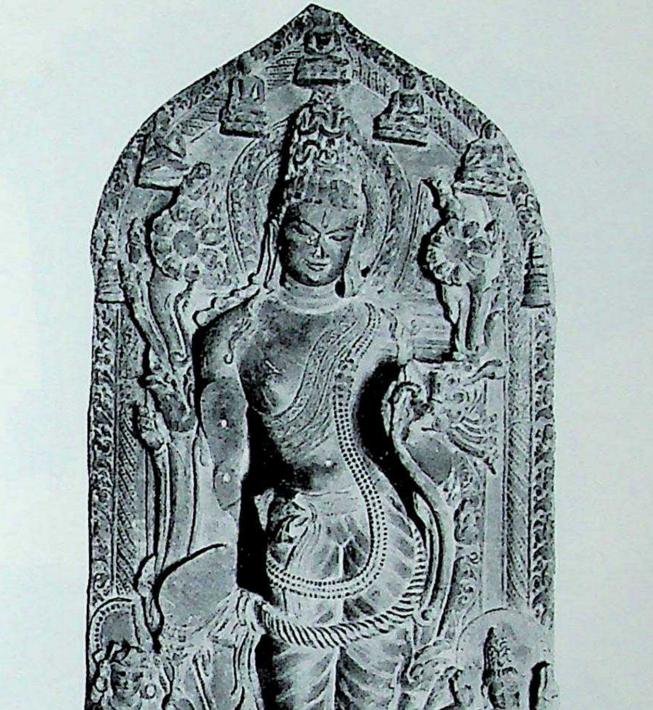
B. *Vishṇu (bronze)*

PLATE IV

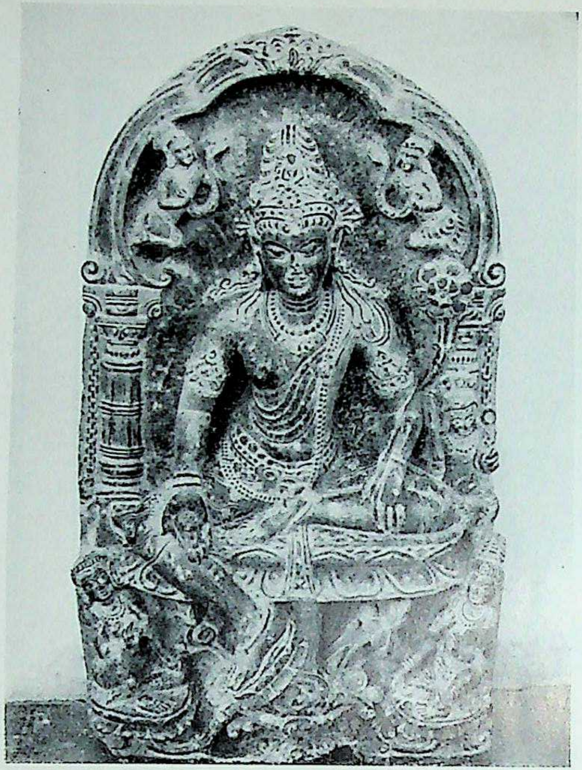


Avalokiteśvara attended by Tārā and Bhṛikuṭī (stone)

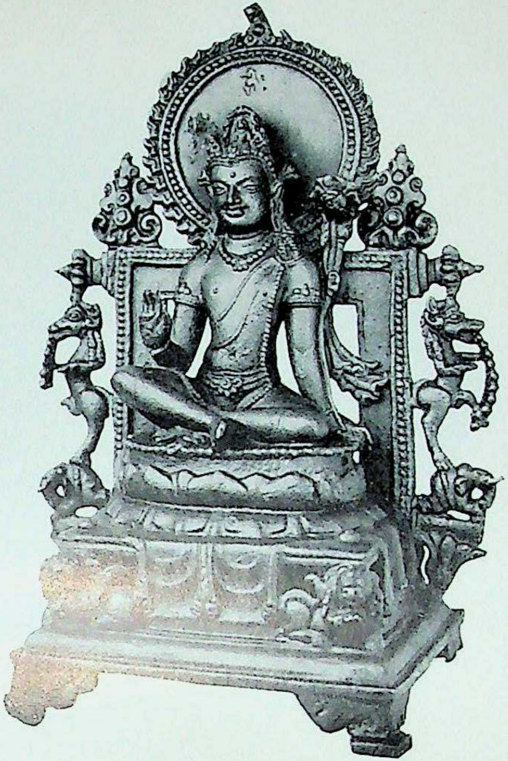
PLATE V



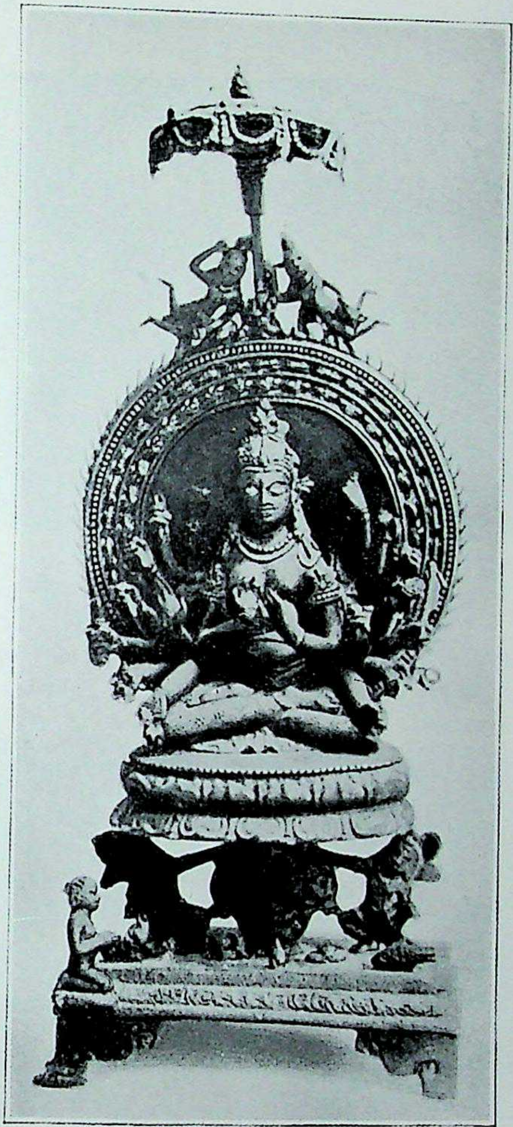
Khasarpaṇa (stone)



A. *Padmapāṇi* (*stone*)

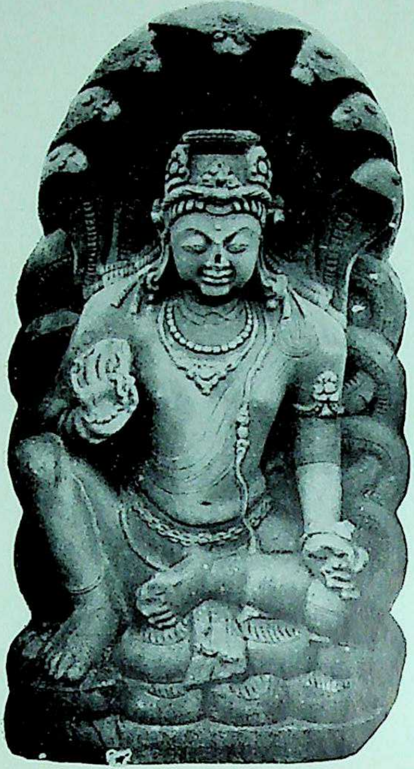


B. *Padmapāṇi* (*bronze*)

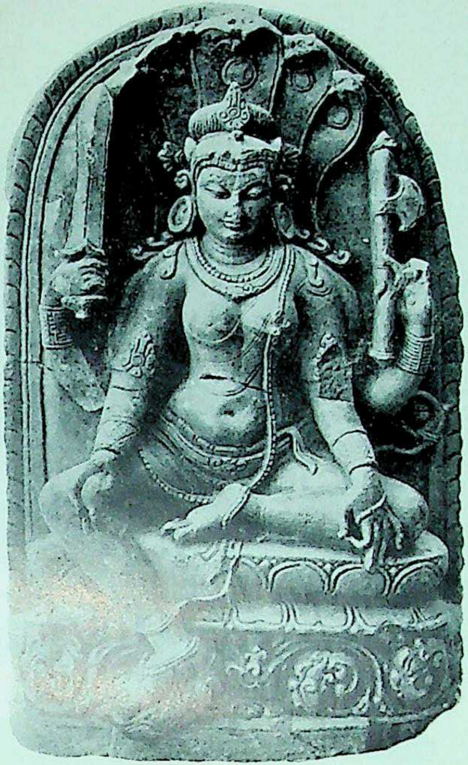


Eighteen-armed goddess, probably Prajñāpāramitā preaching Law (bronze)

PLATE VIII



A. *Nāgārjuna* (?) (*stone*)



B. *Four-armed goddess* (*stone*)

being easily distinguishable. The parapet round the verandah supported pillars on which rested the roof and of which the square bases are visible in all the three different levels. The cells of the first and second periods can be recognized by their doorways blocked up by bricks. The upper courts are concrete-paved, while the lower one is brick-paved and contains an oven and a shrine with stairs facing west. In the portion that has been fully exposed down to the depth of the first period, i. e. the southern half of the monastery, no well has been found, though it is not unlikely that one might exist in the unexposed northern half.

Monastery Site 8.—The arrangements of this monastery with its verandahs, cells, courtyard, shrine, etc., are similar to those that we have already met with. Two different levels of occupation may be distinguished by the usual indications. The lintel of the doorway of a cell in the south-east corner, which was the only one found in this monastery preserved to its original height, has been repaired; as the original wooden lintels were not found, three concrete lintels have been inserted to support the superstructure which is decorated with a pretty dentil cornice just a few inches above the cornice. This treatment of a doorway is unique at Nālandā. The shrine is spacious and imposing with a wide court in front. There are two levels visible in it.

Monastery Site 9.—Here the open space at the north end of the western verandah was blocked up subsequently to form a separate cell, which was provided with a small corbelled door, about 6 ft. high. The corbelling seems to have replaced a flat rough filling, of which evidences were found during the excavations. The earlier drain which was covered up with small stone slabs, originated from the north-east corner of the court and ran through the whole breadth of the eastern verandah out into the open space to the east of the building. The later drain, originating at the north-east corner and having its bed connected with the level of the earlier one, projects diagonally into the court for a length of about 28 ft. It appears that this projection was provided at a later date when, due to some cause or other, a portion of the courtyard was blocked up, rendering the original drain useless. There are six ovens in the courtyard, and traces of another one near the middle of the northern verandah of this monastery. At the south-west corner there is a staircase with a skylight, similar to that in Monastery Site 4. Charred layers of wood were found on the steps of the staircase, showing that they had originally been built of wooden sleepers which were subsequently destroyed by fire.

MONASTERY SITE 10.—An interesting feature of Monastery Site 10 is that the doors had arches, set in mud-mortar, instead of wooden lintels. Traces of these arches may still be seen at the south-west and north-east corners of the building. Another feature of interest in this building is that the outer façade of its eastern external wall was provided with a door opening at the northern and southern ends for facility of communication from the back of the building. These doors were subsequently blocked up. There is no well in the courtyard.

MONASTERY SITE 11.—Lying near cultivated fields, Monastery Site 11 was exposed in a very badly damaged condition, the entire northern half of the building having been levelled to the ground. A feature of the monastery is the presence of no less than twentyfive fragmentary stone pillars, some of which are still standing on their bases on the parapet-walls of the verandah at regular intervals of 4 or 5 ft. To judge from the nearly complete specimens, their height seems to have been about 7 ft. The capitals surmounting the pillars are, however, missing. The height of the roofs of the verandah and the cells may be guessed from these pillars as well from the few beam-holes seen at the south-west corner of the building. As usual, there is a staircase in the south-west corner with an opening in the wall to admit light. The discovery of a few broken jars containing quantities of dried-up mortar and the cistern-like arrangement of one of the cells situated towards the west end of the south row is significant.

GENERAL REMARKS ABOUT THE MONASTERIES.—The visitor has now seen all the excavated monasteries and will have marked that all of them are very similar in lay-out and general appearance. As one goes in by the entrance, one finds on one side a secret chamber, access to which was provided by a very narrow and low opening in the wall of the cell in front of it. This inner room was probably used for purposes of storing the valuables of the monastery received as endowments from the public. There was a verandah, the roof of which rested on stone pillars; on one side of it was a courtyard open to the blue and on the other row of cells. The central cell just facing the entrance beyond the courtyard contained a shrine with an image which, because of its prominent position, was the first thing to catch the eye as one entered the monastery. The courtyard too usually contained a shrine of large dimensions. The walls were all plastered thickly, traces of the plaster being seen here and there in every building.

There are abundant signs left in the ruins of burnt wooden beams, doors, images, grains, etc., to prove that there was a general outbreak of fire at Nālandā at least once, from which all the buildings existing at that time suffered more or less. The students and monks must have fled away in panic, leaving all their properties behind. The site of the *mahāvihāra*, however, was not abandoned and the people soon after this returned to the old centre of learning.

Every monastery was thus deserted and re-occupied, mention having been already made (p. 17) of nine different levels in Monastery Site 1, which is therefore a very complicated structure. In all the other monasteries there are two or three levels, indicating as many periods of occupation. The subsequent builders did not generally disturb the old plan: they built on the remains of the older structure, using its old walls and hard débris as the foundation for the new walls.

Except Monastery Sites 1A and 1B, which had a different orientation, all the monasteries faced west, had drains discharging the sewage in the east and staircases in the south-west corner of the building. They were separated from each other by a passage running east to west.

The row of monasteries faced the row of temples, situated to the east, an open space being left between the two rows. The space, however, was not left entirely vacant, as is shown by a few brick structures here and there. To this row of temples we turn again.

TEMPLE SITE 12.—We have already described (p. 15) the Main Temple, the most imposing of the Nālandā monuments, and now proceed to the temple to its north, Temple Site 12. This structure broadly represents two different periods of construction, a later temple having been erected directly upon the ruins of an earlier one. The external façade of the earlier structure was decorated throughout with projecting niches and pilasters of various patterns, though few of the niches now contain images, the profuseness of which lends so much attraction to the Main Temple. The outer plan of this temple is almost square, the dimensions being 170 ft. by 165 ft. The later structure built upon the earlier one is also square on plan, but its façades, unlike those of the lower structure, are plain. The *chaitya* has an oblong projection at each of the four corners to accommodate four small shrines and shows a broad flight of steps in the middle of the eastern front. The outer walls of the main shrine-chamber and those of the small shrines situated in the corners are decorated with niches many of which have stucco images similar to those seen in the fifth level of the Main Temple. The main shrine-chamber of the upper level faces east. The forecourt at the south-east corner of the *chaitya* is studded with votive *stūpas* of different sizes, such as are noticed round the Main Temple. The *chaitya*, again, seems to have been protected in the southern, western and northern directions by a long continuous compound-wall. In the seventies of the last century Broadley partially excavated this site (p. 14).

To the north and south of the temple are two brick shrines, each containing traces of a colossal stucco statue of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* or earth-touching pose, i.e. the right hand touching the ground, the palm turned inwards.

TEMPLE SITE 13.—To the north of Temple Site 12 stands in the same row another structure, Temple Site 13, now almost in ruins. Portions of the external wall of this structure indicate two different periods of construction. The earlier external walls, though much dilapidated, still retain evidences to show that they were provided with beautiful niches, pilasters, etc., similar to those found in Temple Site 12. The later walls are, however, plain wherever they exist.

To the east of the *chaitya* there is a large forecourt originally concrete-paved, on which a few fragmentary votive *stūpas* are still standing. In the middle of the court there is a portico approached by a flight of steps. The shrine is still existing above and bears traces of a colossal stucco image of Buddha. The walls of the shrine-chamber are built in two sections, the outer one still retaining portions of the original moulding work. The concrete floor of the circumambulation-path surrounding the shrine-chamber is now practically ruined.

The most interesting feature of this site is a brick-made smelting furnace situated to the north of the main structure. The furnace is made of four chambers in one square divided by short walls, each of the chambers being provided with two flues for the fire to burn and air to pass. The discovery of burnt metal pieces, slag of metal and other similar objects from the furnace tends to show that it was used for casting metal objects.

TEMPLE SITE 14.—To the north of Temple Site 13 is another temple, Site 14, of the same dimensions and almost identical features. The outer walls show two periods of construction, plain walls having been erected at many places upon the earlier ones with beautiful mouldings. The doorway of the shrine-chamber was also narrowed down by the addition of blocks of brickwork. Inside the chamber is seen the interlocked legs and the head, the latter being 3 ft. high, of a colossal stucco image of Buddha.

A most interesting feature of the temple is the existence of painting in the niches of the pedestal of the image, the only extant specimen of mural painting at Nālandā. The specimens are, however, much too fragmentary and what now remains shows the figures of a deer and a lion.

Temple Site 2.—A temple different in character and not conforming to the general lay-out of the remains is represented by Temple Site 2, situated to the north-east of Monastery Site 7 and approached by the narrow passage through Monastery Sites 7 and 8. Specially interesting here is the dado of two hundred and eleven sculptured panels over the moulded plinth. These panels are symmetrically arranged, twenty appearing on each side of the main entrance and fiftyseven in each of the three remaining walls. The pilasters intervening between the panels are decorated with a pot-and-foliage design and are surmounted by arches, some of them being pointed. There is a large variety of scenes depicted on them: human figures in various attitudes; household scenes; *kinnaras* playing on musical instruments; Śiva and Pārvatī separately or together; Kārttikeya on his peacock; the gods Agni, Kubera and Gaja-Lakshmī; the child Gautama(?) with his writing material; scenes of archery; the *Kachchhapa-Jātaka;* a human-headed bird with a foliated tail; *makara*-designs; a snake-charmer; geometrical and scroll patterns, etc. The visitor will at once be reminded of the terracotta plaques that are arranged in rows on the different terraces of the huge temple at Paharpur in Rajshahi District of East Bengal. A striking similarity is noticeable in the subjects depicted and their arrangement and style of execution.

It has been suggested that the sculptures belong to the sixth or seventh century A.D. As the present temple seems to belong to a later date, it is likely that the sculptures originally belonged to an earlier temple and were utilized to decorate the present temple when it was built.

The row of panels is surmounted by two or, at some places, three cornices, which are also decorated at intervals with *chaitya*-motif, birds, human heads, etc. As one gets up by the staircase facing east, one finds oneself on a circumambulation-path, upon which rises a shrine showing two different stages of construction.

4. THE ENVIRONS OF THE SITE

Image of Buddha.—In an enclosure to the east of Chaity Site 14 is preserved a colossal stone image of seated Buddha.

Image of Mārīchī.—Another stone image, of Mārīchī, the Buddhist goddess of dawn, is seen at a distance of about 100 yards to the east of Temple Site 14. As is usual, one of three faces of the goddess is that of a pig and there are seven pigs represented on the pedestal. The local people worship the image as a Hindu deity.

Images at Bargaon.—In the village of Bargaon, to the north of the site of excavations, is a modern temple of Sūrya enshrining a very interesting collection of Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist images. A beautiful image of Pārvatī, about 5 ft. high, attracts attention by its beautiful features. In the rooms are found the images of Sūrya, Vishṇu, Śiva-Pārvatī, Avalokiteśvara, etc. Near by is a big tank, sacred to Sūrya, on the eastern and northern banks of which are again found some Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical gods, including *mukha-liṅgas.*

Remains at Begampur.—Between the villages of Bargaon and Begampur, further to the north, are found extensive mounds representing ancient buildings. They probably mark the northern extremity of the ancient establishments at Nālandā and give us an idea of how extensive Nālandā was in the days of its glory. Surrounding this vast area on all sides there was a series of tanks, some of which still contain water.

IMAGE AT JAGADISHPUR.—At Jagadishpur, a village about 2 miles to the south-west of the excavations, is a colossal image of Buddha with a high back-slab. This attractive image shows Buddha seated under the Bodhi-tree, the attempts of Māra and his followers—the demons and alluring damsels—to distract Buddha from his austerities and their final retreat after defeat and humiliation; and other scenes of Buddha's life, including his *parinirvāṇa* or death at the top of the back-slab.

5. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

The Archaeological Museum houses such portable antiquities as were discovered in the course of the excavations of the sites referred to above as well as the neighbouring site of Rajgir.

A. SCULPTURES

THE PANTHEON.—By far the richest collection is that of stone and bronze images of gods and goddesses of the Buddhist and, in a few cases, of the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. Very generally speaking, the images are found in abundance in the monasteries where they were worshipped and in all probability manufactured, while on the temple-sites miniature votive *stūpas*, brick slabs inscribed with sacred texts or tablets containing the Buddhist creed[1] are found. The images of Nālandā mostly date from the Pāla period, though there are some notable specimens of the Gupta period (e. g., the stucco images in the walls of Temple Site 3). As Nālandā was the centre of the Tantra cult, it is natural that side by side with Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, Tantric gods and goddesses were evolved and worshipped, and this is fully confirmed by the recovered specimens. The Pāla school of art is seen at its best at Nālandā, and its influence radiated to the east and the Eastern Archipelago. Nepal and Tibet also closely followed the Buddhist pantheon that was sanctioned by the Nālandā monks, though the northern Buddhists created many more gods or modified the existing ones according to local tradition and fantasy.

---

[1] The following verse is referred to as the Buddhist creed: *ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā hetuṁ teshāṁ Tathagato hy-avadat teshāṁ cha yo nirodha evaṁ-vādī Mahā-śramaṇaḥ*, 'Tathāgata has revealed the cause of those phenomena which proceed from a cause as well as (the means of) their prevention. So says the Great Monk.'

The presence of not a negligible number of Brāhmaṇical images in the centre of Buddhist theology and ritual is intriguing. Probably their introduction and existence were tolerated, but it must be remembered that this was the age when the Buddhists were conceiving and erecting such deities as Trailokyavijaya trampling on Śiva and Pārvatī, Aparājitā trampling on Gaṇeśa and Vidyujjvālākarālī whose *vāhana* (vehicle) consists of such mighty Brāhmaṇical gods as Indra, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva and who carries the severed head of Brahmā in one of her hands. It is no doubt true that there were mutual exchange and borrowing of deities, but it is not possible to think that the Brāhmaṇical deities whose images we find at Nālandā, viz. Vishṇu, Balarāma, Śiva-Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, etc., were ever absorbed in the Buddhist pantheon.

ART.—Under the influence of Tantricism the Pāla artist conceived and produced a much greater variety of images than his Gupta predecessor. With the extension of the pantheon there was also an increase in the number of poses of the hands (*mudrā*) and posture of the feet (*āsana*). And simultaneously there was also an increased attention paid to the technical details.

The specimens of Nālandā were the work of many artists with a varying degree of skill and training. Not all of them succeeded in reproducing the calm and contemplative expression that characterizes the Gupta images found at Sarnath and even the stucco figures of the Bodhisattvas in the niches of the Main Temple at Nālandā. True, the artist tried to reflect the inner meditation on the face of the god by such devices as half-open eyes, to show that the deity was wrapped up in meditation (*dhyāna* or *yoga*), but this sometimes degraded into a matter of formality instead of producing the effect that it was intended to.

Considering the vastness of the Nālandā ruins, large stone statues, so common at Sarnath and elsewhere, are remarkably small in number at Nālandā. The Nālandā artist seems to have taken delight in modelling small pieces which afforded ample scope for minute details and careful execution. This may be due to the fact that the major portion of the creative urge of the artist was directed to the production of bronze images, which, of necessity, could not be conceived and executed on a grand scale.[1] Metal-casting as a science must have been highly developed at Nālandā and it is probable that it even formed part of the curriculum.

Some of the Nālandā bronzes are carved in the round, but generally they are placed against a square back-slab rising up to the shoulders of the deity. There is often a circular or oval halo which is sometimes detachable. In some specimens the halo has completely lost its significance and has been reduced into a decorated piece shaped like an elongated horseshoe, resting on the pedestal of the image itself and rising an inch or so above the image. The pedestal may consist of one or two lotuses, which again may rest on a throne. Sometimes the lotus-seat rests on two lions, suggesting a *siṁhāsana* or 'lion-throne'. Both the male and female deities (with the exception of Buddha) wear elaborate ornaments of the usual type.

---

[1] There are exceptions, for Hiuen Tsang saw an 80-ft. high copper image of standing Buddha at Nālandā.

Buddha.—It is well-known that in early Buddhist art repesented at Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya, etc., Buddha was never portrayed in human form, his presence being indicated by a symbol or empty throne. Images of Buddha began to be erected about the first century A.D. in north-western India and Mathurā, probably under foreign influence. Once the practice was started, it spread all over India in a short time, and in all centres of Buddhist art Buddha formed the most favourite subject of the artist. The Nālandā specimens depict the Master in all his characteristic attitudes: he may be standing, sitting in meditation under the Bodhi-tree or sitting with both legs pendent (*bhadrāsana*). The hands show the favourite poses, the earth-touching, meditation, gift, protection, preaching, argumenting. He is usually placed on a lotus-throne, which may be supported by lions as in no. 9-171. Usually the hair is shown in schematic curls with a top-knot (*ushṇīsha*), regarded as one of the thirtytwo marks of a great man; but in no. 1-456 Buddha is wearing a crown on his head. In one specimen, no. 1-152, Buddha has matted hair, a characteristic of Śiva, the locks hanging on shoulders. He is sometimes accompanied by attendants, e.g. nos. 1-456 and 1-900, but is generally single. There are also sculptures depicting the scenes of his life. Thus, his birth is represented in no. 11-110, where Māyā, his mother, is standing under a tree and a male deity to the right is receiving the newly-born baby. No. 1A-97 is a delicate carving in stone with the earth-touching Buddha in the centre, the scene of the temptation of Māra on the pedestal and seven other scenes around. The taming of the rogue elephant is the subject-matter of no. 1-457, while no. 3-272 depicts the death of the Master lying on a couch, two lamenting figures below and a *stūpa* and musical instruments played by unseen hands above.

Mention may be made of a colossal statue of Buddha (removed from near Temple Site 14) seated in *dharmachakra-mudrā* and attended by Vasumitra, Maitreyanātha, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, specified by an inscription below each of them.

Particularly noteworthy are the figures of Buddha, nos. 1-532 and 9-150, standing on a circular lotus-pedestal, the finest of Nālandā bronzes. The smiling but calm expression of the face and the arrangement of the drapery may be marked (pl. III A).

THE BODHISATTVAS.—Of the divine Bodhisattvas, Padmapāṇi is represented in many images with or without the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha on the crest. In no. 1-424 he is seated in *lalitāsana*, the right hand showing *varada* pose and the left holding a lotus-stalk. No. 1-631 may be regarded as another variety of the same god, seated in *mahārājalīlāsana* with the right hand in *vitarka-mudrā* and the left holding a lotus. There are two fine gilt specimens of Padmapāṇi, nos. 1-961 and 8-7: the former has its right hand raised in *abhaya-mudrā* (pl. VI B), while the latter has the Dhyāni-Buddha with *varada* on the crest.[1] There are three large stone images, nos. 3-54, 3-63 and 8-15, of the same god with the usual features. The first is seated in *lalitāsana* with a dwarfish male figure by the side of the god holding a sword in the right hand and a noose in the left (pl. VI A). No. 8-15 may particularly be notable for its fine execution.

A large four-armed Avalokiteśvara in stone is seen in no. 12-87, the right hands with a rosary and *varada-mudrā* and the left ones a lotus-stalk and nectar-pot.

---

[1] This is uncanonical, as *varada* is the pose of Ratnasambhava, while Padmapāṇi ought to carry Amitābha (with *dhyāna-mudrā*) on his crest.

There is a *śakti* (female companion) on each side of the deity representing Bhṛikuṭī and Tārā and a crouching animal praying for mercy (Sūchīmukha) on the right half of the pedestal, which also contains a kneeling devotee (pl. IV). In no. 1A-83 we find a bronze six-armed Avalokiteśvara, with *varada*, *abhaya* and a rosary in the right hands and a lotus, pot and book (staff ?) in the left and with the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha on the crest.

No. 45-3847 is an image of Khasarpaṇa-Lokeśvara found in the compound of a local school. He is shown as standing and flanked by Tārā and Sudhana-kumāra on his right and Hayagrīva and Bhṛikuṭī on the left (pl. V). Sūchīmukha is shown in his usual pose on the pedestal. The tall Bodhisattva (no. 51-3931), holding a lotus-stalk in the left hand and flanked by female figures, has the Dhyāni-Buddha Vairochana on his crest and can probably be identified as Bodhisattva Samantabhadra.

No. 1A-10 is a stone image of Vajrapāṇi in *pratyālīḍha* posture, holding a combined *ghaṇṭā* (bell) and *vajra* (thunder-bolt) in the left and *vajra* in the upraised right hands; serpents form the garland, pedestal and head-dress of the deity. An important specimen is no. 9-46, where the god is seated cross-legged with three heads and six arms, of which two hold the *vajra* against the breast and the others a rosary, arrow, bow and an invisible object. A female figure, representing the respective *śakti*, is seated by the side of the god. The back is inscribed with the word *Vairochana*. No. 9-157 will easily attract the attention of the visitor by its perfectly-preserved gilt surface. It depicts a four-headed god (Vajrasattva ?) seated cross-legged on a lion-throne, holding the *vajra* against the breast by both the hands. The high *stūpa*-shaped crown is noteworthy.

Of the many images of Mañjuśrī mention may be made of nos. 9-112 and 1-620. The former represents a particular variety of the god known as Arapachana, seated cross-legged with a book held against the breast in the left hand and a brandishing sword in the right. There is a red stone in each of the four corners of the pedestal. In the latter the god is seated in *lalitāsana* with a lotus-stalk in the left hand and a sword in the right. In both the images a scarf is wound round the waist and tied on the knee. In no. 1A-11 we find Mañjuvara, another variant of Mañjuśrī, seated cross-legged with the hands placed in *dharmachakra-mudrā* and a book-on-lotus to the left. No. 11-45 shows the same god seated on a lion, the left hand holding a lotus-stalk and the right resting on the bent right knee. No. 4-103 is a very doubtful representation of the god, who is depicted here as a corpulent figure, with a lemon in the right hand and book in the left.[1] An inscription on the back shows that the image was erected in the reign of the Pāla emperor Devapāla.

Of the uncommon types of the Bodhisattvas mention may be made of the following. No. 1-629 shows a deity seated cross-legged holding a chain by the hands. A god seated in *lalitāsana*, the right hand in *varadamudrā* and the left holding a banner, is found in no. 1-973.

Jambhala.—Jambhala, the Buddhist god of wealth, is represented in many images. No. 1-470 shows the god seated in *mahārājalīlāsana*, holding a fruit and purse respectively in the hands. An inscription shows that it was the gift of the sage (*yati*) Keka. In no. 1-205 we find a four-handed variety of the god seated in *lalitāsana*, the right hands holding a pot and sword and the left ones a flower and mongoose. The right foot rests on overturned vases. The back of the image is inscribed with the letters *ja* and *huṁ*. No. 1-641 represents a scene suggesting a conference[1] of Jambhala seated in the middle of a circular lotus-throne with eight similar figures seated round him.

---

[1] E. J. Bernet Kempers identifies this image with Kumāra. *The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art* (Leiden, 1933), p. 31.

OTHER GODS.—Of the images of other male gods, mention may be made of no. 1-224, a stone image of Trailokyavijaya, a Buddhist god trampling on the Brāhmaṇical gods Śiva and Pārvatī lying prostrate. The hands form what is known as *vajrahuṁkāra-mudrā*, and the face expresses rage. An inscription on the back reads:

> *ākāśa-lakshaṇaṁ sarvva ākāśaṁ ch=āpy=alakshaṇam* [| *] *ākāśa-samatā yogāt=sarvv-āgra-samatā sphuṭāḥ*[2][|| *] *Udayabhadrasya.*

Trailokyavijaya is represented by another image, the lower part of which only has survived. It was removed from Monastery Site I.

Another Tantric god, Yamāntaka, is depicted in no. 1A-113. He is six-headed and six-armed and holds a *vajra*, sword and pestle in the right hands and a noose, human head and cup of blood in the left. A garland of human skulls adorns the god and the Dhyāni-Buddha Akshobhya appears on the crest.

An interesting image, no. 43-3843, representing a deity seated under serpent-hood canopy and holding a vase and rosary in his hands, is believed to represent Nāgārjuna (pl. VIII A). It was originally housed in a shrine to the south-east of the Main Temple. The inscription on the image says that it was the gift of one Bhaṭṭamāṇikya.

---

[1] Cf. Vajra-Tārā in the Dacca Museum, in which each petal shows a companion-goddess, ancillary to the principal deity in the centre of the lotus. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical Images in the Dacca Museum* (Dacca, 1929), p. 49.

[2] The first line of the verse occurs in Kalyāṇagarbha's *sādhana* of Heruka. *Sādhanamālā*, ed. B. Bhattacharya (Baroda, 1928), II, p. 470.

TĀRĀ.—The most favourite goddess of the Buddhists was Tāra, 'the saviour', the consort of Avalokiteśvara, and it is in the fitness of things that she is represented by a large number of images, the number being second only to that of Buddha. Whether seated or standing, she usually holds a lotus-stalk in her left hand and exhibits *varada-mudrā* in the right. In no. 1-1051 the goddess is seated on a high lotus-throne with the right hand in *vitarka-mudrā* and the left in *varada*. The hair is tied with a band and hangs down on the back. Another image, no. 1A-304, shows the goddess seated on a lion throne in *lalitāsana*. The inscription on the back reads: *Oṁ Tāre tuttāre ture svāhā. Om Padmavati. Oṁ Kurukulle svāhā. Ye dharmā* (incomplete). No. 1-743 is a beautiful miniature representation by the goddess, inscribed with the name of the female lay-worshipper Kajjalakā.

PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ.—Prajñāpāramitā, the goddess of learning and the deified sacred text of the Buddhists, is represented in no. 1A-82A. The goddess is seated cross-legged on a lotus-throne with her hands forming *dharmachakra-mudrā* and with a book-on-lotus on each side. Two other bronzes, nos. 1-370 and 4-115, may be regarded as abnormal varieties of the deity.[1] Both of these are seated cross-legged, the two original hands forming *dharmachakra-mudrā*. The first image has ten more hands, holding a pot, noose, conch, book-on-lotus, banner, fruit, rosary, sword, *abhaya-mudrā* and an indistinct object. The second one has eighteen hands in all and exhibits, besides *dharmachakra-mudrā*, a bell, noose, flag, disc, conch, pot, book-on-lotus and an indistinct object in the left ones and a fruit, conch, sword, *vajra*, rosary, *varada-mudrā* and two indistinct objects in the right ones. The throne on which the goddess is seated rests on two human figures each with a serpent-hood canopy[1] and a decorated pillar. The fish, tortoise and *makara*, appearing on the pedestal of the image, may suggest the emerging of the deity out of the sea (pl. VII).

---

[1] This has been suggested by Kempers, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

MĀRĪCHĪ.—Mārīchī is represented in her common Mārīchīpichuvā form in nos. 1A-65 and 1A-122. As is usual, one of the three faces is that of a boar in both the images. The former has eight arms, holding a needle and piece of string in the first pair of her hands, a goad and noose in the second, a bow and arrow in the third and a *vajra* and *aśoka*-flower in the last. The chariot is drawn by pigs. The latter one, however, is six-armed and the chariot is drawn by horses.

CONSORT OF JAMBHALA.—Hāritī, probably a fertility goddess in her origin, was absorbed in the Buddhist pantheon about the beginning of the Christian era and given to Jambhala as his consort. I-tsing, a Chinese traveller of the seventh century, says that 'the image of Hāritī is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining hall of all Indian monasteries depicting her as holding a babe in her arms and round her knees three or five children. Every day an abundant offering of food is made before the image.'[1] Of the many images of the deity found at Nālandā mention may be made of the following. No. 1-372 represents the goddess seated in *lalitāsana* with a child on the left knee and the right hand holding a fruit (a symbol of Jambhala). An inscription on the back of the image says that the image was erected in the reign of Devapāla. No. 1-459 is also the image of the same deity, with the right hand in *varada-mudrā* and the left holding a stalk which supports a vase with foliage issuing out of it. Five overturned vases on the pedestal, a characteristic of Jambhala, leave no doubt about the identity of the image.

---

[1] This may have reference to the belief that the *Prajnāpāramitā* text was rescued from the land of the *nāgas* by Nāgārjuna.

To the same group may be affiliated the goddess Vasudhārā with four hands, no. 1-1052, the left hands holding a lotus-stalk and a pot with ears of corn, while the lower right hand is held in *varada-mudrā.* The name of the donor Bodhipālita is inscribed on the back.

SARASVATĪ.—Sarasvatī, who claimed the allegiance of both the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical faiths, is beautifully represented in no. 1A-95 as seated in *lalitāsana*, the hands holding a lute placed on the right knee, with a seated attendant on each side playing on musical instruments.

APARĀJITĀ.—Of the other female deities, Aparājitā, no. 1A-64, trampling on Gaṇeśa and attended by Indra holding parasol is an interesting creation of latter-day Buddhism.

OTHER GODDESSES.—There are some images of female deities which are difficult to identify. No. 1A-21 is a four-handed goddess, seated cross-legged, the right hands showing a rosary and *varada-mudrā* and the left ones a book-on-lotus and an indistinct object.[1] There is a four-armed female figure, no. 1A-305, with a peacock (?) at the left end of the pedestal; as the symbols are mutilated, it is difficult to propose any identification.[2] Another baffling stone image is no. 9-201, which is that of a female deity seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus-throne. The right hands hold a sword and fruit and left ones axe and noose. A five-hooded serpent-canopy protects the head of the deity (pl. VIII B).

---

[1] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

BRĀHMAṆICAL DEITIES.—We now come to the important Brāhmaṇical images. No. 1-887 is a red-painted bronze Vishṇu with the usual four emblems, conch, disc, mace and lotus, and a long garland known as the *vanamālā*; a kneeling female devotee sits on the right end of the pedestal (pl. III B). In no. 1-442 we find Balarāma, with four hands carrying a conch, disc, club and plough, with a *vanamālā* and a seven-hooded serpent canopy over the head. An inscription on the back says that the image was erected in the reign of Devapāla.

Nos. 4-63 and 46-3856 are stone representations of Śiva-Pārvatī, with their respective *vāhanas* and symbols, seated in an amorous attitude. The latter was found in the compound of the local school. No. 1-722 is a four-handed Durgā with a lion-vehicle and a *liṅga* on the top. Mahisha-mardinī or Durgā killing the demon is rather poorly represented in no. 1-594. An interesting variety of Gaurī or Durgā is found in no. 1A-100, which depicts the goddess as holding a rosary in the upper right hand, a bough of a tree ending in a disc in the upper left and a vase in the lower left, the lower right being broken. An alligator appears on the pedestal, which is supported by a lion and a buffalo.[1]

---

[1] The identification with Chundā has been suggested by Kempers, *op. cit.*, p. 43, though the details do not agree. On the other hand, the image closely follows the characteristics of Dhanada-Tārā prescribed in the canons.

[2] The peacock *vāhana* may suggest Kaumārī, the consort of the Brāhmaṇical god Kārttikeya, but the Buddhist creed on the back of the image precludes that possibility.

Of the other Brāhmaṇical deities mention may be made of Sūrya, no. 1-336, Revanta, no. 1A-123, and Gaṇeśa, no. 3-125. A small bronze, no. 1A-158, represents either Gaṅgā on *makara* or Indrāṇī on elephant.

B. INSCRIPTIONS

COPPER-PLATES.—Monastery Site 1 yielded three copper-plate inscriptions belonging to Samudragupta (*circa* 335-75), Dharmapāla (*circa* 770-810) and Devapāla (*circa* 810-50) respectively. The first of these was issued from Ānandapura on the second day of Māgha in the fifth regnal year. At the end prince Chandragupta is mentioned. The genuineness of the record is not above suspicion.[2] The copper-plate of Dharmapāla records the grant of a village in the district (*vishaya*) of Gayā in the Nagara (Patna) division (*bhukti*).[3] The copper-plate of Devapāla is much more important and has been summarized above (p. 11). The original copper-plates are now in the Indian Museum.

---

[1] The image has been plausibly regarded as representing Gaurī or Durgā. J. N. Banerji in *Journal of the Greater India Society*, IV (1937), pp. 137 ff. Other images of this type have been found at Nālandā. One of these, no. 11-70, is a miniature bronze in which the goddess holds a *liṅga* in the upper right hand, *varada* in the lower right, a staff in the upper left and a fruit in the lower left. The animals are identical.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, XXV (1939-40), pp. 50 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXIII (1935-36), pp. 290 ff.

STONE INSCRIPTIONS.—The following two stone inscriptions, both of which are very important, are now in the Nālandā Museum:

(1) *Inscription of the time of Yaśovarmadeva*,[1] recording various gifts, including a permanent grant to the temple erected at Nālandā by king Bālāditya, by Mālāda, the son of a minister of king Yaśovarmadeva, evidently the renowned king of Kanauj of the first quarter of the eighth century. The inscription gives a glorious description of Nālandā, extracts of which may be quoted here:

> 'Nālandā, with her learned men, famous on account of their (knowledge of) good scriptures and arts, mocks, as it were, at all the cities of great emperors.
>
> 'The row of whose monasteries with their pinnacles kissing the clouds is, as it were, designed by the Creator to be a beautiful garland of the earth shining high (in the space), and being the delightful home of the community (of monks) who are the abode of good learning, with the palaces and temples brilliant with the net-work of rays (issuing out) of various jewels, assumes the splendour of the Sumeru, the beautiful home of hordes of noble *vidyādharas*.
>
> 'Here, king Bālāditya erected this spacious, unique and white palace of the Lord

---

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, XX (1929-30), pp. 37 ff. with corrections in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII (1931), p. 669, and VIII (1932), p. 37; *Modern Review*, September, 1931.

(Buddha), the son of Śuddhodana, as if out of a desire to insult Mount Kailāsa.

'The palace, it seems, went round the whole earth, disgracing the splendour of the moon, putting a stop to the beauty of the chain of peaks of the Himālaya, then defiling the white river of the sky and silencing the sea of critics; having realized that it was futile to wander about in a world where there was nothing to vanquish, it (now) stands aloft, as if as a pillar of the great fame it has won.'

(2) *Inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra,*[1] recording the activities of the ascetic Vipulaśrīmitra, who, among other things, built a temple of Tārā, adorned with a court and tank, at Somapura, where he resided for a long time and renovated a local monastery.[2] At Nālandā he erected a monastery, 'an ornament of the world, surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra,' and made it over to the line of ascetics to which he belonged. The inscription was recovered from the uppermost level of Monastery Site 7, which, as we have already seen, shows three periods of occupation. On the basis of this inscription we may ascribe the construction of the uppermost monastery to the first half of the twelfth century, to which the inscription may be referred on palaeographical considerations.

---

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI (1931-32), pp. 97 ff.

[2] Somapura has been identified with Paharpur in Rajshahi District of East Bengal, where a huge temple with a monastery and a temple of Tārā have been unearthed. It appears that the last was built by Vipulaśrīmitra, who might have also been responsible for some subsequent additions to the monastery attached to the temple.

Besides these, inscriptions giving the Buddhist creed or names of donors often occur on the stone and bronze images. The more important of them have been mentioned along with the images bearing them.

BRICK INSCRIPTIONS.—Many brick inscriptions, mostly fragmentary, have been discovered from the core of the small votive *stūpas* attached to the Main Temple. The inscriptions give either the Buddhist creed, *ye dharmā*, etc., or the more elaborate *Nidāna-sūtra* or *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*, with or without the *nirodha*-portion.[1] This *sūtra* is found in many Buddhist texts, both Sanskrit and Pāli. It details Buddha's theory of the Chain of Causation, viz., ignorance produces constituents, constituents produce consciousness, consciousness produces individuality, individuality produces the six organs of sense, the organs produce contact, contact produces sensation, sensation produces thirst, thirst produces attachment, attachment produces existence, existence produces birth, birth produces old age, death, sorrow, etc. With the suppression of ignorance, all the resultant effects are suppressed, and there is thus no old age, death, sorrow, etc.

No. 3-278A is dated in the Gupta year 197, i.e. A.D. 516-17.[2] As we have seen above (p. 16), this helps us to ascribe the fifth period of the Main Temple to the fifth century. Another brick gives the same *Nidāna-sūtra* with its *vibhaṅga* or division, the latter portion having been previously known to us only in its Chinese translation.[1]

---

[1] The object of depositing these texts inside *stūpas* was no doubt to acquire merit. I-tsing records the practice of depositing relics of Buddha and the *gāthā* on the Chain of Causation, i.e. *ye dharmā* etc., inside *chaityas* (Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 150). It is interesting to recall the tradition that Kanishka engraved some Buddhist scriptures composed by the Fourth Buddhist Council on some sheets of copper, deposited them in a stone receptacle and built a *stūpa* over it. Beal, *Records*, I, p. 156.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV (1937-38), p. 20.

SEALINGS AND PLAQUES.—The vast number of sealings and plaques discovered at Nālandā fall under two categories: (1) ecclesiastical and (2) civil. Under the former head come those seals which bear the Buddhistic creed, sometimes with the figure of Buddha, or bear only the image of Buddha without any inscription. Many specimens of the 'official' seal of the Nālandā Monastery exist, with the inscription, *śrī-Nālandā-mahāvihārīy-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya*, 'of the Community of Venerable Monks of the Great Monastery at Nālandā'. Above the inscription occurs the *dharmachakra* with a deer on each side, suggesting the scene of the Deer-park of Sarnath, where Buddha first preached the Law, the motif that was also adopted by the Pāla emperors. Sealings of the individual establishments of Nālandā are also found. Mention must also be made of the discovery in one of the votive *stūpas* near Chaitya Site 12 of no less than one thousand unburnt clay caskets, each encasing two small plaques with their inscribed faces together.[2] It is difficult to suggest to what use these lumps of clay were put. They might have been deposited there for earning religious merit or distributed to the pilgrims as a memento of their visit to the sacred place.

Of the secular sealings, historically the most important are those which belong to royal personages, such as Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, Śarvavarman and Avantivarman of the Maukhari dynasty, Supratishṭhitavarman and

---

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI (1931-32), p.p. 194 ff.

[2] Cf. the discovery of Tārā plaques at Pahārpur.

Bhāskaravarman of Assam, Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and Paśupatisiṁha, Devasiṁha and Īśānasiṁha of an unknown lineage.

The personal sealings give a vast number of names. There are also seals of particular offices, such as the office of the *kumārāmātya* in the Magadha division (*bhukti*), office of the Gayā district (*vishaya*), office of the Rājagṛiha district, office of the *kumārāmātya* of the Nagara (Patna) division, etc.

C. MISCELLANEOUS

The coins found at Nālandā include those of Kumāragupta I and Narasiṁhagupta of the Gupta lineage, Śaśāṅka of Bengal (*circa* 600-20), Ādivarāha or Bhoja I of the Pratīhāra dynasty (*circa* 835-85), and Govindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty (*circa* 1114-55). All of these are now deposited in the Indian Museum.

The carved bricks, no doubt used for decorating buildings, portray human and animal figures, faces of demons (*kīrttīmukha*), circular discs with floral designs, etc.

The collection of pottery includes earthen jars with mica-dust adhering to their surface, decorated with animal and floral designs and furnished with short spouts.

A small heap of burnt rice is reminiscent of the fire from which Nālandā suffered probably more than once.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Legge, *Travels of Fâ-hien* (Oxford, 1886).

S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (by Hiuen Tsang) (London, 1906), 2 vols.

S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang* (London, 1911).

T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* (London, 1904).

J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (by I-tsing) (Oxford, 1896).

F. A. Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*.

S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (Calcutta, 1893).

P. N. Bose, *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities* (Madras, 1923).

S. C. Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic* (Calcutta, 1921).

J. N. Samaddar, *Glories of Magadha* (Patna, 1927).

H. Sastri, 'Nālandā in ancient literature', *Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, I, 1930 (Poona, 1920).

A. J. Bernet Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art* (Leiden, 1933).

H. D. Sankalia, *University of Nālandā* (Madras, 1934).

Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, 1915-16 to 1920-21.

Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1915-16 and onwards.

INDEX TO MUSEUM-OBJECTS

NO. OF OBJECT	PAGE
1–152	.. 36
1–205	.. 39
*1–224	.. 40
1–336	.. 45
1–370	.. 41
*1–372	.. 43
1–424	.. 37
*1–442	.. 44
1–456	.. 36
1–457	.. 36
1–459	.. 43
*1–470	.. 39
1–532	.. 37
1–594	.. 45
1–620	.. 39
1–629	.. 39
1–631	.. 37
*1–641	.. 40
1–722	.. 44
1–743	.. 41
1–887	.. 44
1–900	.. 36
1–973	.. 39
1–1051	.. 41
1–1052	.. 43
1A-10	.. 38
1A-11	.. 39
1A-21	.. 43
*1A-64	.. 43
1A-65	.. 42
1A-82A	.. 41
1A-83	.. 38
*1A-95	.. 43
*1A-97	.. 36
1A-100	.. 45
1A-113	.. 40
1A-122	.. 42
1A-123	.. 45
1A-158	.. 45
*1A-304	.. 41
1A-305	.. 44
3–54	.. 37
3–63	.. 37
3–125	.. 45
3–272	.. 36
3–278A	.. 48
*4–63	.. 44
4–103	.. 39
*4–115	.. 41
1–961	.. 37
8–7	.. 37
8–15	.. 37
9–46	.. 38
*9–112	.. 39
9–150	.. 37
*9–157	.. 38
9–171	.. 36
9–201	.. 44
11–45	.. 39
11–70	.. 45
*11–110	.. 36
12–87	.. 37
43–3843	.. 40
45–3847	.. 38
46–3856	.. 44
51–3931	.. 38

N.B.—The objects marked with asterisks are now in the National Museum, New Delhi.